2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

531 decorate a burial pole; and others, Pl. 2D, Pl. 10C, and Pl. 11A, similar to those he would paint on the ceremonial baskets.

I did not see or hear of figures being made in bark (Mountford, 1956, p. 443, fig. 65C, D); moulded in wax (Elkin and the Berndts, 1950, Pl. 21, Mountford, 1956, Pl. 143) or in the sands of the sea-shore (Mountford, 1956, p. 404, Pl. 91C, D), as is done in north-eastern Arnhem Land. Nevertheless, [532] the men did carve large burial poles in the form of human beings and smaller full-length figures, associated with the *pukamuni* ceremonies. These figures bore some small resemblance to those recorded from north-eastern Arnhem Land (Berndt, 1948, Figs. A, B, Pls. 1, 2; Mountford, 1956, Pls. 130–40).

3. TECHNIQUES

386 (*a*) COLOURS. The pigments used for the decoration of the burial poles and the production of the bark paintings, were red, yellow and white ochres. As there was no suitable black pigment on the islands, the artists used crushed charcoal in its place.

[317] The source of the best ochres is a pit at Imilu on Cape Van Diemen (Fig. 1). This ochre, called *imilu*, is a bright yellow when collected,[7] but, when heated in the fire, it changes to a clear red. A soft white stone is common along the beaches. The ochres are not ground on a stone, as on the mainland (Mountford, 1956, p. 11), but, being friable, are crushed and mixed in a large cockle shell with water and fixative.

The aborigines often spoke of a superior ochre at Numanira, northern Melville Island (Fig. 1), which could be gathered only at low tide. I did not see any of this ochre in use.

(*b*) FIXATIVES. Three different types of fixative are used to ensure that the painted designs, both on the poles and the baskets, were as permanent as [314] possible. They were: the sticky gelatinous sap of one of the tree orchids [237] (*Dendrobium* sp.); the wax and honey of the wild bee, well mixed together; and the yolks of the eggs of the sea-going turtle. The fixative was either mixed with the pigments or rubbed on the painting surface.

412 (*c*) BRUSHES. Simple brushes, made of strips of bark of varying widths, square across the bottom, chewed at one end, and held as in Fig. 2A and 2C, were used for the bulk of the work.[8] For making the dots, however, the artists used a

[423] [7] There did not appear to be any restriction on the gathering of this ochre; any aboriginal could go to Imilu and take as much as he wished.

[171] [8] The long flexible brush of the aborigines of Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 12, fig. 3), was not used at Melville Island, although the bark brush (Fig. 2B) was often held in a similar manner.

2: Mountford E-ɔ (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

412 short, cylindrical stick, about three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. This was dipped in the colour and transferred to the painting surface with the brush held as in Fig. 2B.

FIG. 2. *Methods of Holding Brushes*

4. THE ARTISTS

53 [463] [302] As with other aboriginal groups with whom I have worked in Central and Northern Australia, there is no special artist class; all aboriginal men and women of the Tiwi, would, on occasions, be required to paint designs on the bodies of one or another of their relatives, or on objects, particularly those associated with the *pukamuni* ceremony.

Some men, however, were looked upon as being more skilled than others in some particular field, i.e., cutting and decorating the burial poles, or the ceremonial spears, painting the large bark baskets, or the bodies of men and women who take part in the *pukamuni* or *kulama* ceremonies.

On Pl. 1 are four men who were regarded as good craftsmen and artists.

Pulanimbuwi (Pl. 1A), hard-working and meticulous in all he did, produced the unusual *pukamuni* pole (Pl. 35); two other poles as human figures (Pl. 37A, B; 37E, F), and a number of bark paintings; Pl. 13B, D, and Pl. 14C, D, being typical.

Inbidjarmeri (Pl. 1B), being fully employed by the Superintendent of the nearby settlement, was unable to make bark paintings for me. He was most expert in carving and painting the beautiful, multi-barked ceremonial spears. Pl. 32B is his work. He was also in great demand for decorating the performers for the *pukamuni* and *kulama* ceremonies. Pl. 28K and Pl. 28R are examples of his craftsmanship in this field.

115 *Tjamalampua* (Pl. 1C) and *Malumerinita* (Pl. 1D) are two men to whom I

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 778 Pl. 32 illustrates a number of objects used in the *pukamuni* and *kulama* rituals.

[411] [531] Pl. 32A, B, are two of the beautifully carved ceremonial spears known respectively as the male *pukamuni* spear, *tunkaringa*, and the female spear, *tunkaguni*. These are made purely as a gift to the dead, they appear to have no other function.

[114] [322] [412] At the time of Spencer's visit to Melville Island during 1911, the aborigines told him that these spears were cut with cockle shells. During 1920 a Melville Island man in Darwin gave me the same information, adding that the making of a double-sided female spear, 32B, with shell tools occupied an old man about three months, and the single-sided male spear, 32A, about two.

Pl. 32C is the forked throwing stick, *miluanta*, with which *Tjapara*, the moon-man injured *Purukupali*, and 32D, the plain throwing stick, *muruguna*. These are used in the *kulama* and *pukamuni* rituals, as well as for hunting and in personal quarrels.

[302] [413] Pl. 32E, G, are two interesting tools called *portas*, used for printing lines of dots on the bodies of the men and women. The colour is crushed to a thin paste, spread on a flat rock, and the *porta* rocked backward and forward in the paint to load the *porta*. The *porta* is then rocked on the body printing a line of dots.[86]

[515] [413] Pl. 32F is a curious ceremonial scratching stick used by the *Kilipaniati kulama* initiate to scratch himself during the period when he is not allowed to do so with his hands.

Pl. 32H, J, are two burial poles, *tudinis*, which were erected on the grave. These will be described in Section 10.

9. THE MESSAGE STICKS

202 765 Message sticks, under the general name of *purunkita*, are used by the Tiwi for several purposes; personal requests to fellow tribesmen asking for presents or supplies (Fig. 5E); invitations to other groups to perform ceremonies (Fig. 5F, G, H), and in association with the *pukamuni* rituals.

When the ceremonial leader appointed the "workers" to cut the poles (p. 74), he also sent messengers carrying specially carved sticks (*purunkitas*) to each totemic group on Melville and Bathurst Islands, telling them when the final *pukamuni* rituals were about to start.

[301] [302] As each messenger neared his destination he painted himself entirely in white and donned his goose-feather ball, *tokwianga*, his chest ornaments,

[86] The lines of dots on *Wurarkuti* (frontispiece) were made with a *porta*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

elaborately shaped nor decorated, often being covered with no more than a series of dots.[1]

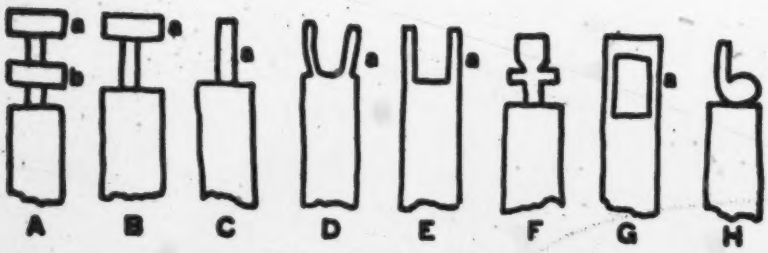

FIG. 8. *The Burial Poles*

Origin of the Pukamuni Poles

At present we have no evidence to show whether the custom of erecting burial poles around the grave in such numbers, not as a memorial, but as a gift to the dead, is confined entirely to the Tiwi tribe, or whether it is used in any other part of the world, and has reached the Tiwi by diffusion. There certainly are no similar burial poles on the Australian continent.

In north-eastern Arnhem Land, some of the decorated log coffins are as high as seven feet.[2] But the function of those coffins bears no relationship to that of the burial poles of Melville Island, the former being no more than coffins to hold the bones, and the latter, gifts to please the spirit of the dead.

It is possible that, during the long period of isolation from the mainland cultures, the Melville Islanders may have changed coffins of north-eastern Arnhem Land into the burial poles of the Tiwi.

The only examples of burial posts outside of Australia known to me, that are in any way comparable in function to those on Melville Island, are the *malanggan* burial ornaments of New Ireland described by Kramer.[3]

Methods of Manufacture

Although, at the conclusion of the *pukamuni* rituals, the grave is totally neglected and the poles allowed to decay, the "workers", using steel axes[4]

[1] Although *Tjamalampua* is not fully correct (see Bremer's and Campbell's statement in the early nineteenth century, pp. 107, 108), it indicates that both the poles and their painted decorations have, with the passing of the years, and the acquisition of steel tools, become more complex.

[2] Mountford, 1956, p. 317. [3] Kramer, 1925.

[4] The evidence of Bremer, Spencer and the aborigines, suggests that before the advent of metal the only cutting tools owned by the aborigines would have been crude stone axes, and the shells of cockles. It is likely that, under these conditions, the poles would

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

and the hardest and most durable timber available, spared no pains to make the best poles they could.[5]

When the "workers" had finished shaping the poles they notified the leader of the *pukamuni* ceremony, who then gave the order for the poles to be scorched over a fire of blazing leaves to make a black ground on which to paint the design (Mountford, 1956, p. 427). Then, setting up the poles in a double row near the grave (Mountford, 1956, p. 426), the men began their task of decoration (Pl. 33B, D). At the same time, the ceremonial leader sent message sticks (p. 98) to notify the outlying groups that the final rituals were about to start.

The materials used for decoration were: red and yellow ochres from Imiku, Cape Van Diemen, a white ochre from a beach nearby, crushed charcoal for black, one of three types of fixatives, i.e., the white of turtle eggs, wild honey and beeswax mixed together, and the particularly gelatinous sap of one of the tree orchids.

The ochres were crushed, mixed with water and one or more of the fixatives, and applied to the poles with brushes made from chewed strips of bark or vines (Fig. 2).

As I watched these primitive artists at work, I was impressed with the care they took in the arranging of their simple patterns, and with the obvious pleasure they experienced in their work. A quiet air of contentment pervaded the outdoor studio as each of the ten artists made his own pole as beautiful as possible.

Each artist appeared to be certain as to the designs he would use; there was no evidence of copying; in fact, *Pulanimbuwi* showed me the rough draft of the designs of his pole (Pl. 35A, B, Fig. 9), scratched on the back of a cigarette tin, days before he had even felled the tree.

A puzzling aspect of the *pukamuni* poles is the wide variety of the painted designs used, and the almost total absence in those designs of any reference to the myths and totemic localities.[6]

At first sight it would appear that the pole shapes, collected by both Fry and myself, were inventions of the moment. An analysis of the poles

have simpler shapes than at the present time, although Campbell (1834, p. 158) speaks about "poles with tops like lances and halberts". The aborigines may have used fire to assist in the shaping of the poles, in fact, this is suggested by Klaatsch (1907, p. 387).

[5] Not far from our camp was the deserted grave of the father of *Muramujua* (Pl. 38B), who died when his son was an infant. *Muramujua* was then over forty years old, yet the poles, although somewhat eroded and disarranged by the elements, are still in a fair state of preservation.

[6] This and old *Tjamalampua's* statement, p. 109, could indicate that the poles and their designs are a recent cultural trait that is not yet fully absorbed into the culture.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

(8) *Cutting up the Yams*

881 252 After the yams had been in the oven for about one and a half hours, the men gathered around the oven, felt it, and, after a short discussion began to scrape the warm sand away from the paper-bark covering. As they did so, they pressed handfuls of the warm sand against their elbows, chest, shoulders and knees, believing that this sand made their joints strong and supple (Pl. 45c).

881 When the paper-bark, carefully removed strip by strip, exposed the cooked yams, the women, who had been quietly standing on the outside of the *milimika* murmured reverently, "Ah, *kulama*, ah, *kulama*." Taking the hot yams from the oven each man held them against his chest, and his [827] head. This they said would give them added strength and vitality. The women although they did not participate in this ritual, sent their children into the *milimika* to have the yams pressed against their bodies so that they would grow to healthy and strong adults.

[177] [533] As the men peeled the yams, exposing the soft, yellow flesh, they sang about preparing and eating various kinds of food belonging to the white man,[86] "cutting bread for a meal, carving steak from a bullock and roasting it on the coals, cooking the tongue of a bullock, eating corn beef", and so on. When all the yams were peeled they were left on a sheet of bark whilst [412] [177] everyone had a meal and a sleep. In the late afternoon the *kulama* men started to slice the yams (cockle shells, *irakapi*, were used before the advent of steel). As they did so, the men mashed up some of the sliced *kulama* between the palms of the hands, mixed this with red ochre, and each rubbed it on his hair, face, whiskers and body. This, they believed, aided by the earlier rituals, would ensure them good health until the next *kulama*.

(9) *Initiation of the Kilipaniatis and Mikinatrinas*

The sliced yams were put in the basket, and stood in the centre of the *milimika*. A *kulama* man walked into the forest, and collected a length of flexible vine. Returning to the *milimika* he bent the vine round the necks of the male *Marukumunis* and the female *Marukumuningas* in such a way that it could not be removed. These initiates were then *Kilipaniatis* and *Kilipaniatingas* respectively. This neck ornament, which had a number of cords [301] hanging from it, is called a *mariguani* (Pl. 42a). After these initiates had been further decorated with bark armlets, *tjunguis*[86] (Pl. 42b and c), and cane

[86] No doubt, in times past, they sang about abundant supplies of their own favourite foods.

[86] Spencer, 1928, illustrates the bark armlets, *tjunguis*, on Pl. XI and the belt, *aluriui*, on Pl. IX, No. 1.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

411 412 (f) The aborigines of Melville and Bathurst Islands have a particularly limited material culture. They have only double-ended, or simple wooden barbed spears, which they throw by hand as one would throw a javelin. This form of propulsion contrasts strongly with the mainland, where the use of the spear-thrower is universal. Nor do the Tiwi use any small mounted stone tools. Before the advent of steel, their only cutting tool was a cockle-shell, held in the hand. It is likely that until about fifty years ago, until Joe [177] Cooper brought the mainland aborigines, with their polished stone axes, to Melville Island, the Tiwi possessed only a crudely flaked stone axe, mounted in a length of split wood with the gum of a eucalyptus tree. In addition, all of [415] the Tiwi carrying utensils are made of bark, because the Islanders lack the [285] knowledge of any form of basketry or of the netting techniques.

It is evident, then, that within the range of the research I was able to 105 undertake, there are many differences between the culture of the Tiwi and 171 that of the aborigines of the nearby mainland. There is little doubt that Miss Goodale's research, when published, will reveal further dissimilarities.[48]

My research, however, must be considered only as a preliminary study, 123 within the limits of the subjects enumerated. Lack of transport prevented me from visiting any of the totemic sites, and limited time from investigating more fully other aspects of their beliefs.

It is my sincere hope that this study will be continued by another ethnologist before civilization has distorted or destroyed the interesting cultural life of the Tiwi.

[48] Since the writing of this book, Chaseling has referred (1957, p. 170) to a female ancestor (unnamed) who created much of the mainland side of Dundas Strait. This information would suggest that Melville Island and the adjacent mainland are more closely linked mythologically, and perhaps culturally, than the evidence in this book suggests. Further research on this subject will be awaited with interest.

[114] [173]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

They are occasionally coloured and decorated with ochre, some of the designs being very pleasing to the eye. Some spears, moreover, have human hair strings wound round the shaft, immediately below the head, for a distance of 10 centimetres or more, and this is kept in place with beeswax.

Canoes.

Elsewhere I have referred to the marked absence among the northern Australian tribes of anything but the most primitive crafts and such innovated forms as have resulted from the contact with the white and yellow races. They are, therefore, not to be considered as truly indigenous canoes. On Bathurst Island, however, conditions are different; due, perhaps, in the first place, to its insularity (as well as the numerous estuaries and rivers that cross the land), and, secondly, to the proximity of Melville Island, which is separated from it by only a narrow stretch of calm water known as Apsley Strait. The latter is barely a mile in width at its narrowest points. Numerous canoes are in use within this Strait, and occasionally, when wind and water are favourable, they venture a short distance out to sea. One type is principally in use, namely, a large bark-canoe measuring about 560 centimetres in length (*vide* Plate X, Figs. 1 and 2). It is made of a single sheet of bark, usually from suitable, straight, clear trunks of the woollybutt (*Eucalyptus miniata*) or the stringy-bark (*E. tetradonta*) (*vide* Plate XII, Fig. 1). It is cut from the tree by chopping transversely at the respective distances from the ground, then slitting it once vertically for the whole length and removing it by forcing the edge of the instrument under the bark and finally levering it off with pointed saplings. The outer side of this oblong piece of bark, which is rough, will become the inside surface of the canoe. At a distance of from 65 to 70 centimetres from either end, transverse cuts are made on the inside to a depth of half the thickness of the bark, and such thickness is removed from the whole of the surface lying away from the centre at either incision. Each end is thus reduced by half its original strength and material thereby becoming more pliable. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a bivalve shell, usually a *Cyrena*. The subtilized ends of the sheet may, or may not, be held over a glowing fire to render them more pliant still. The sheet is folded lengthwise along its middle, and one or both ends kept together by vertical stakes, stuck in the ground and tied together at the top. The bottom corner of the fold is cut away in a very gentle upward slope. The two pieces of the fold are next held firmly together and cut in a more decisive upward direction from a point some 30 to 50 centimetres from the bottom edge end. The two freshly cut edges are neatly sewn with close, overcast stitches, and the same is done along the top horizontal edge for a distance of some 15 or 20 centimetres from the end. From the intervening space between the sewn parts at the top and bottom, an angular or curved segment is cut out in imitation of a fish-tail and its edges laced together in a like manner (*vide* Plate XI, Figs. 1 and 2). The thread used for these "run-on" stitches is in the form of strips from the split sheets of the

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

climbing palm (*Calamus Australis*).[1] Holes are previously pierced through the bark with an awl, made out of the leg-bone of a wallaby.

The stitches are made more secure and watertight by plastering them with wax from the comb of the wild bee (*Trigona sp.*) or with one of the several resins so extensively used by all natives. The inside corners are caulked with plastic clay and fibre, or resin. Two stays or struts of fairly stout timber, cut to the required length and inserted at the points where the bark was reduced to half its thickness, keep the sides of the canoe apart. From these points, therefore, the sides of the canoe converge to the bow at one end and to the stern at the other; while in between they are more or less parallel. The canoe, if there be any difference at all, is wider aft (74 cm.) than it is nearer the bow (55 cm.); the "fish-tail" incision, too, is acute and deep at the bow and more rounded and shallow at the stern (*vide* Plate XI, Figs. 1 and 2). Along the top, inner, edge of either side of the canoe, a straight strengthening pole is lashed with distant, unequally-spaced and grouped "run on" stitches of cane-strips. These structures lend considerable rigidity to the gunwale of the canoe; they do not extend throughout the whole length, but, being straight, are more or less parallel one to another, and do not enclose the stern or bow. Major Campbell,[2] in referring to the bark canoes seen by him while at Fort Dundas, states that "the gunwales are strengthened by two small saplings (such as grow in marshy places) fastened together at each end of the canoe." This method is more like that in use on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria to-day and was not observed on the islands by me. Long shoots of vines and strips of cane are wound crosswise from side to side of the canoe, and at the same time take in the strengthening-poles along the gunwale. Additional circumferential winding binds the separate cords into one thick rope. Four of such ties are spanned at equal distances, from one side to the other, along the straight edges of the canoe. They not only preserve its shape, but afford a ready means by which the craft may be carried.

The canoe is not decorated in any way, but smears of various colours are noticed both at the bow and the stern, resulting from the handling by fingers previously occupied in decorative work with ochre. When not in use the canoes are "housed" on a level piece of ground, under the overhanging branches of a shady banyan or guttapercha tree. They are laid in normal upright position (not inverted), and are kept so by short supports of timber stemmed against the sides. The bark thus dries in the required shape and does not become lop-sided.

Each canoe has its recognized place. Where a dense growth of mangroves skirts the foreshore, a regular approach to the water is kept clear by cutting away the trees. The paddles are laid within the canoes.

Quite a large number of natives may be carried in a canoe, if the occasion

[1] Compare narrative of Mr. Carron in MacGillivray's *Narrative Voyage H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* 1852, vol. ii, pp. 125 and 126; also P. P. King: *Narrative Survey Intertropical Western Coasts of Australia*, London, 1827, vol. i, p. 90.

[2] *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, vol. iv, 1834, p. 156.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

level, further material has been cut away to reduce its thickness by about 1 centimetre all round. The top portion, which has the appearance of a knob, has been daubed with red ochre; the sunken portion, immediately beneath, is white (*vide* Plate XVII, Fig. 2). The lower surface of the post bears five vertical bands, three being of white pipe-clay and two of yellow ochre. Two of the former have a border of red, the third one of yellow; and both of the latter (yellow) are bordered with white. Three of the intervening spaces are shaded with inclined lines of white, the remaining two are each filled with a vertical row of white cricoid figures. The original surface upon which the pattern was drawn is charred.

Having persuaded the natives to repaint the designs on the tomb-posts, in places where they were defective or missing, they set about the work with enthusiasm and did not rest until they had repainted the whole of the surfaces. To accomplish this they leaned the posts against trees and divided themselves into small groups of two to four, each of which undertook part of the work (*vide* Plate XVI, Figs. 1 and 2). Youths were sent to the main camp, whence they soon after returned with lumps of red and yellow ochre and white pipe-clay (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 2). From these they broke off small pieces and crushed them by hand in the strong concave shells of the bivalve mollusc *Cyrena essingtonensis*.[1] To this crumbled pigment sufficient water was added to make a thick paint, more water being added from time to time as required. One might look upon these shells containing the mixed paint as representing primitive palettes (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 1). The paint is applied to the surface by means of crudely made, yet effective, brushes. Short pieces of the creeping calamus are cut with the sharp edge of a shell and one or both of their ends chewed until all the fibres have become separated (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 3); much in the same way as the flower-stalks of the fan-palm are chewed when feeding on honey (*vide* p. 300). Both of these small artists' requisites are highly interesting inasmuch as they show us a decidedly primitive, yet to the present day practically unaltered stage in the evolution of art.

It is evident that the posts have been cut and carved with a sharp bladed instrument, in all probability a tomahawk. Captain Flinders[2] as far back as 1803 noticed that the natives on the north coast (Caledon Bay) were familiar with the use of iron instruments and that they tried to steal his axes. He, therefore, suspected that "they had been previously visited by people possessing iron instruments." Later, he was himself able to confirm this supposition when he discovered, near to Cape Wilberforce, a fleet of proas from Macassar, the crew of which were in the habit of visiting the north coast of Australia to collect trepang, which they took to Timor and sold to the Chinese.[2]

[1] We have before us an interesting analogy, when we recollect that in our own country the shells of fresh-water mussels were, in former days, much used and are still used as a receptacle for mixing water-colours; whence also the name *Unio pictorum*.

[2] *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, London, 1814, vol. ii, pp. 213 and 228–231.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

When Captain King[1] dropped anchor in Apsley Strait in 1818, and came into contact with natives near Luxmore Head on Melville Island, he noticed that "they repeatedly asked for axes by imitating the action of chopping."

Ethnologically these tomb-posts are of the greatest importance. With the exception of the records left by Jukes and MacGillivray, we know of nothing of the kind existing nowadays on the mainland. That, however, the inhabitants of some of the Torres Strait islands adopt methods of preserving the memory of their dead by means of painted and decorated structures of a different type is an established fact. The Continental Australian certainly, also, has methods of his own to mark a place of burial, but in a decidedly more transitory and less laborious way. The latter leaves already existing belongings of the deceased upon the grave; the islander, in addition, surrounds the spot with specially prepared posts such as have been described herein. Apart from the carvings, the painted designs, alone, are quite superior to anything existing on the mainland. The marked symmetry of the individual patterns and their diversity, when compared with one another, can hardly find a parallel on the mainland. We might look upon these island productions as representing interesting and independent transition stages between the primitive art of the Continental Australian, on the one hand, and the more perfected types of equatorial island tribes to the north of Australia, on the other.

APPENDIX.

NATIVE OCHRE DRAWINGS ON BARK FROM MELVILLE ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.

While visiting Bathurst Island in 1911, I also entered several of the inlets of Melville Island from Apsley Strait. At one point, not far from the southern entrance to the Strait, where some aborigines were living in huts near to Cooper's Buffalo-Shooters Camp, I found the drawings here described. They were upon sheets of bark of the Woollybutt (*Eucalyptus miniata*), used for building their shelters and huts. All drawings are in pipe-clay and red ochre; these materials having been smeared or squirted on to the bark in the form of a thin paste or in aqueous suspension. Typical among the drawings of the aboriginals on the mainland are the negative imprints of hands produced by holding the palm of the hand flat against the surface and squirting a mouthful of pipe-clay or ochre, suspended in water, against the back of the hand and around it. The surrounding surface is thus coloured so that, when the hand is removed, its outline stands out conspicuously by the absence of colour.[2]

[1] *Survey of the Intertropical Coasts of Australia*, 1837, vol. i, pp. 111 and 121.

[2] *Vide Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, 1907, vol. xxxi, p. 56, Plate XII. Among other references note E. Giles, *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889, vol. i, p. 78. "The drawing is done